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ABSTRACT

The relationship between the structure of decision-making in a college or university and the consensus on values within the university was studied, based on the field of organization theory where cultures and values are helpful in understanding the operations of an organization. Based on a larger study of the academic profession, a qualitative review of faculty interview responses and background documents was undertaken. Of 16 institutions in the larger study, eight are collapsed into three composite colleges. One of the composites consists of three institutions that offer master's degrees but few, if any, doctorates. Another composite consists of three leading research universities, and the third is a blend of two highly selective, undergraduate liberal arts colleges. The three clusters contain colleges that have similar decision-making processes, organizational structures, and consensus on faculty values. Attention was directed to issues such as: institutional mission, sense of community on campus, faculty responsibilities, unionization, centralization/decentralization of decision-making, and the power structure. The patterns can be used for faculty development and institutional assessment; a college can assess how its decision-making process is a function of faculty value consensus. (SW)

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Values and the Structure of Decisionmaking:

Finding the Connection in Higher Education

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This paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Gunter Hotel in San Antonio, Texas, February 20-23, 1986. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Values and the Structure of Decisionmaking:
Finding the Connection in Higher Education

The objective of this paper is to specify the relationship between the structure of decisionmaking in a college or university and the consensus on values within the institution. The approach is from the field of organization theory where cultures and values have emerged once again as important concepts in understanding the operations of an organization.[1] Drawing from that literature as well as the literature on decisionmaking, the analysis attempts to discover a link between the "hard" structual side of organizations and the "softer" cultural side. It also is concerned with some practical management issues in higher education.

Those who study higher education increasingly recognize that postsecondary institutions are extremely diverse. Community colleges, liberal arts colleges, state universities and major research institutes have different objectives and are organized differently. Some operate under conditions of extreme stress, while others by comparison are quite comfortable. Some are extremely large and highly differentiated internally, while others serve a narrow clientele and are far less complex. Faculty reflect this diversity. Although they unquestionably share some characteristics with their colleagues in other instititons, which is a consequence of being part of a larger profession, they also must adjust somewhat to their immediate environment. Moreover, within each institution faculty can differ among themselves about

either the mission of their college or the way they should fulfill the obligations of their profession.

This paper examines one feature of that diversity: the form of decisionmaking in a college or university bears some relationship to the level of agreement among its faculty on basic professional values. That there is a relationship would be hard to deny, but the precise pattern remains unspecified. The interviews and background material from this study, however, do suggest one possibility. Colleges with a low consensus and a high consensus had centralized authority systems. Those with a moderate consensus had a decentralized system. There is a theoretical explanation for this seemingly counterintuitive pattern, but it is more appropriately left until after identifying the pattern itself.

Background and Methodology:

This discussion is part of an extensive study of the academic profession which comprised nearly 200 interviews with faculty members and 50 background interviews with administrators in 16 institutions.[2] The interviews lasted from an hour to an hour and a half and covered several topics which can be categorized into three broad headings of work patterns, forms of authority, and values and attitudes. The faculty were from the departments of physics, biology, political science, English, business and medicine, thus ranging across the spectrum of disciplines and professional fields. The sixteen institutions were chosen to

represent the categories of the Carnegie classification and geographical differences.[3] All the interviews were taped, and half were fully transcribed. Also, I obtained background documents from each college, including faculty handbooks, organization charts, and histories. The burden of the analysis, however, fell on the interview data.

Three points about the methodology deserve mention. First, the larger study, of which this is only a part, was designed to stimulate insights into several issues. One of those issues was the general relationship between faculty governance and faculty values. The study was not designed to test several narrow propositions, so the finding reported in this paper derives from an exploratory, theory-generating, deliberately qualitative review of the interview responses and background documents.

Second, the interviews were conducted in a manner that would elicit as much information as possible. The topics were consistent for each interview, and most of the questions were asked in precisely the same manner. But the sequence of questions frequently varied. Follow-up and probes were always used. And if a faculty member seemed especially eloquent or loquacious on a subject, we encouraged a fuller response rather than limit ourselves and the respondent to a possibily incorrect set of preconceptions. To reiterate, not all the information was collected to confirm a hypothesis. Rather, if we could generate an empirically-based proposition, as in this analysis, we achieved at least one of our purposes.

Finally, the data are reported in the form of "synthetic case studies." Of the sixteen institutions in the larger study, eight are used in this discussion. They are collapsed into three composite colleges. One of the composites consists of three institutions from the Carnegie category of "comprehensive colleges," i.e., those that offer Masters' degrees but few, if any, doctorates. Another composite consists of three leading research universities. The third composite is a blend of two highly selective, undergraduate liberal arts colleges. The three clusters contain colleges which have similar decisionmaking processes, organizational structures, consensus on faculty values, and a host of other characteristics. Combining the colleges simply provides a richer illustration of the proposition--a manufactured ideal type. It is, plain and simple, a heuristic device.

One of the reasons for this methodology is the confusion in the literature of organization theory. Previous research offers a number of suggestions about decisionmaking but few that inspire confidence. For example, the determinants of centralized decisionmaking are unclear. Uncertainty, to mention one possible determinant, causes organizations to act cautiously, according to one set of findings. So greater uncertainty drives decisions up the hierarcy.[4] Diminishing resources produce the same effect. A "flexible" style converts to a "decisive" style when demands from the environment destroy the luxury of allowing a greater number of individuals to participate in the decision.[5] In simple terms,

fewer options result in a tighter organization.[6]

Another line of thought goes in a different direction. As uncertainty increases, "authority is diverted to points in the organization that are especially equipped to deal with that uncertainty," and "decentralization of authority is accepted as a key structure result of the need to cope with uncertainty."[7] Organizations should not elevate the dilemmas caused by uncertainty to the apex of their structures. A better strategy is to isolate the part of the organization that is the target of the demand and allow it to resolve the uncertainty while the rest of the enterprise continues its routines.

For a time, organizational theorists were preoccupied with environmental influences; external factors certainly do explain much that goes on in an organization. But they do not explain everything. Perhaps values and culture, as internal variables, contribute to the structure of decisionmaking. In their classic article, Cohen, March, and Olsen suggested that "value heterogeneity" had an effect, but they left the precise pattern ambiguous.[8] While acknowledging the intrusion of many factors, this analysis attempts to reduce the ambiguity by asking what is the effect of value consensus on the centralization of decisions, other things being equal?

Universities and colleges comprise an especially appropriate sample. They are conscious of values, missions, goals, and other components of organizational culture. Disagreements are often couched in normative terms. Yet academia historically has had

difficulty specifying a common set of values. Taylor has claimed that universities "differ...in the extent to which commitment to core values and exemplary behavior is required and enforced." They conduct "sacred rather than utilitarian activities, yet the diversity of these activities does not make for high levels of moral integration."[9] And Ashby worried about "the serious differences among academics regarding the purpose of the enterprise (and) the alarming disintegration about purpose."[10] At the same time, according to Yarmolinsky, universities have not developed "any conscious process for making institutional choices."[11] If these critiques are correct, we are left with organizations that have little common purpose and few ways of deciding among competing priorities. But perhaps the structure is complex because the value system is complex. Perhaps the confusion is at least partly a symptom of not recognizing the interaction of structure and values.

The analysis of the three synthetic cases follows:

COLLEGE A: THE MARBLECAKE

College A does not grant doctorates but it does grant Masters degrees, mostly in the professional areas of business and education. It serves a local and regional clientele. It obtains most of its funds from the state, but it is not the flagship campus. The mission of the institution seems ephemeral. External governing bodies such as the state legislature or the state

planning agency keep watch over the college, and it often feels buffetted by shifts in the political winds. The college thus stands somewhere between the powerful research universities and the elite liberal arts colleges, fluctuating between emphasizing the tasks of teaching and research, never quite sure what it will be judged by.

It is important to underscore the considerable barriers standing in the way of a "collegiate" atmosphere. The college is a commuter campus with a part-time student body that reflects a variety of social backgrounds and academic abilities, varies greatly in age, and possesses utilitarian, career-orinted objectives. If a parking lot is all that unites the faculty, the same could be said for the students. There are few events, social or intellectual, that bring the campus together. The college is only a part, and often a very small part, of the lives of students who hold jobs and raise families. To a lesser extent, the college becomes only a part of the lives of the faculty, certainly less a part of their lives than it is for faculty at a liberal arts college or at a research university.

There are other reasons for a weakened sense of community among the faculty. Many of them share offices, a situation that has the perverse effect of dividing faculty by causing them to schedule their office hours when their officemates will be off the campus. Faculty rarely speak to their departmental colleagues, and without exception they described their department as being torn by political turmoil and divisions based not on any

predictable pattern, such as rank or area of study, but on personality. The consistency of these comments was striking. Departments differing on every variable would be similar only in that they were divided by personalities.

In general the faculty are not integrated into the institution. They are highly fragmented group not bound by any overriding sense of community.

Over time, these cycles in the mission of the college and the internal strife have resulted in an unusual mix of faculty: a marblecake. Once a teacher training college, the institution attracted and hired professors with little interest in research. Or if they were interested in research, they studied pedagogical techniques more than the substance of the discipline. With a broadening of the mission, the college recruited young doctoral recipients from the mainstream disciplines who talked of "research agendas," the pursuit of grants, publications, and other marks of distinction in a different professional world. Their norms were the norms of the research university.

Yet a third model developed. It was a hybrid of the intense substantive interests of the researchers and the teaching-service commitment of the original cadre. These academics were interested in expressions of professional expertise outside of the college but not in the discipline. A political scientist edited a newsletter for an environmental association, became active on local politics, and occasionally advised the leadership of a public interest group on legislative strategy. An English

professor starred in his own television show on the local public broadcasting station. Another political scientist wrote commentaries on foreign affairs for the daily newspaper. The motivations were intrinsic, not pecuniary. That is, the professors considered these activities part of their professional responsibilities and not an extracurricular activity for financial gain.

At the college, these three models of professionals--the teachers, the researchers, and the entrepenuers--existed side by side, not always harmoniously, with each drawing strength from one of the many clienteles of the college.

The faculty is unionized. The relationship between the union and the administration was stable and only mildly adversarial. But the primary mode of representation for the faculty was the union. The faculty senate's scope of authority had gradually eroded. The contract determined the relationship between the faculty and the college. Departmental flexibility and differences between the disciplines were diminished in deference to the uniform protection and standards brought about the contract.

What Weathersby said of the state college might also be said of the marblecake college.

> These colleges are in transition. Many have lost their focus and now face the likelihood of losing their distinctiveness and purposefulness as well...(After World War II) their once sharp mission had begun to fade into an undistinguished comprehensiveness....Since the mid 1950s, many state colleges have decided that a clear mission is less desirable than a large institution that is diffuse in purpose.[12]

The faculty reflect this confusion, and no one is completely satisfied with his or her position. A biology professor, when asked what she valued most about the college, replied, "Nothing." And when asked if she would leave said, "In a minute." An English professor was "appalled" at the lack of scholarly work on the part of his colleagues and plans an early retirement. He would undoubtedly disagree with his political science colleague who defined an outstanding academic as "someone who does not stay in the ivory tower."

Decisions in the institution are centralized and perceived by the faculty to be highly "political." A department's decision on a junior member's tenure was not at all assured of being accepted at a higher level. In fact, because of state laws, the Board of Trustees announced its approval or disapproval of promotions at public meetings. Also, a state commission had recently recommended a reorganization of the statewide system, which could have resulted in, among other things, higher admission standards and potentially more prestige and resources. Although the administration strongly opposed the plan as an infringement on individual campus autonomy, the faculty reaction was one of indifference. Whatever the outcome, it would be a "political" decision reached at level well above them.

COLLEGE B: POCKETS OF CONSENSUS

Conditions change when we move to the archetypal research

university. The dilemma of organization is no less thorny, but its resolution is different for a variety of reasons. Here the agreement is that all have the right to disagree. The search for knowledge takes many different forms, is messy and serendipitous, and is impervious to direction. Attempts to specify the work of the researcher are unavoidably counterproductive. Academics fiercely protect their independence and individuality. They define their professionalism by such freedom. When asked why they entered the profession, they responded:

> -...People would leave me alone, and I could do what I wanted to do. I'm able to construct my own life, and I don't want to work for anybody.
>
> I wanted to have my own program as opposed to working for someone else. You have your own ideas, and you want to do your own experiments, and you can't do that if you're working for somebody else.
>
> -...The freedom to pursue new research is an unfetterred, in a free atmosphere. Time-wise, idea-wise, and content-wise, not to be told what to do, what time you are to come to work, when to go home. Just the freedom and flexibility of pursuing research in an unstructured setting. You set your own rules.

How then to organize people with such a strong aversion to organization? There is indeed a dilemma, perceptively couched by one faculty member:

> One of the nice things about this university is that there is a live and let live (attitude) and everybody's doing their own thing. One of the bad things about the university is there is too much live and let live and everybody's doing their own thing. I've never been on a campus before which was as fractured into different people doing different things.

For all the apparent confusion, the remedy, though not always

successful, is relatively simple. The department becomes the focal point of decisionmaking. It is not the exclusive decisionmaker--above it are Deans and committees, below it are subcommittees--but within the unit lies a great deal of discretion. The dilemma of multiple values is resolved by forming pockets of consensus. That is, although academics are intensely protective of their autonomy, thus rendering centralized decisions problematic, what common ground they find is in the commitment to their discipline. As a collection of scholars in the same field of study, the department constitutes the organizational authority to which academics feel directly accountable. It is a breakpoint. Decisions made above that level can certainly have force, but they suffer under a greater burden to prove their legitimacy. Decisions made below that level are almost always advisory and unenforceable. The department represents the equilibrium point where the freedom of the professor and the demands of the institution are balanced.

The reasons for this center around a logical sequence of interdependent facts of life in the research university. The higher education system in the United States is competitive, with institutions vying for prestige. At the eye of the storm are the research universities. What put them there is involvement in scientific research, which is driven by the individual competition to be among the first with a discovery. The individuality of science and the bureaucratic imperatives of higher education come together in the department, and consequently the results of the

competition are measured by standings of the departments.

Because the standings of the individual departments are the disconnected assessments of national networks of academics in separate fields of study, the university must rely upon the evaluations of professionals outside its own boundaries. And if a department ranks highly, it acquires power within the university. A political scientist explained the relationship.

> We are thought to be a good department, a prestigious department, and (the administration) likes us. They will do mostly what we want them to do. I suspect there are other departments who are not thought to be nearly as good...and in those cases it would be much more likely for a decision to be overridden or for someone to be appointed chairman who might not have been the preferred choice of the majority of the people in the department.

Another professor explained the origins of power in a rival department:

> They have produced a number of successful people. They are pretty highly rated. And they have got some first rate people. That's just all there is to it. And everybody knows it.

The result is a clever organizational resolution to the misspecified local-cosmopolitian trade-off: external prestige is transformed into internal power. Attainment of the former virtually ensures the latter. Recently this dynamic has been reinforced by the extreme dependence on external funding for research. In the natural and physical sciences especially, it is absolutely necessary for academics to obtain funding, usually from federal agencies and usually through the process of peer review, which not incidentally is in the hands of the disciplinary

leaders. In a recent survey approximately 50 percent of the academics in research universities reported receiving federal funds;[13] much higher figures are to be expected in the medical, biological, and physical sciences. Impressions from the respondents lend credence to the importance of funding, especially with respect to hiring. Said a physics professor, "More and more I think we move in the direction of looking for assistant professors who can bring their own funding, and who have an independent line of research." A biology professor said he would offer this advice to a new member of the department, "Number one, get funded." Another biologist punctuates her comments on the profession this way: "I think one of the major problems we have is grant funding. Without federal grants, you can't do academic science; and if you can't do any research, you are going to have a hard time staying....So I think the whole academic science area is very dependent on federal grants." The point needs no further elaboration: authority in the research university (because of the strength of the faculty which comes from its intimate ties to the external disciplinary community) is decentralized and diffuse and moves laterally beyond the boundaries of the university.

We leave the final word to a political scientist who described the power of the faculty in these terms:

> On the things that count to the faculty, the faculty have a lot of power. The appointment and promotion process is almost entirely within the faculty's hands....The faculty has an enormous amount of say. They do over the curriculum in general. The Academic Senate committees, several of which I serve, I think really control the

curriculum pretty much totally.

Within the research university, multiple values certainly exist. English professors cherish "scholarship" over the precise cumulative advancement of knowledge found in the natural and physical sciences. Forms of work are eclectic and include the creative production in the drama or music school, the book in the English department, the multi-authored article in the biological sciences, the multi-footnoted review article in the law school, and the patent in the engineering school. Commitments to teaching, dependence on equipment and funding, and approaches to education vary across the many disciplines. But the competition for prestige and standing remains constant, and the prevailing institutional mechanism for decisionmaking is to delegate the precise strategies to the clusters of faculty organized into departments which represent the intersection of the disciplines and the institution.

COLLEGE C: ZONES OF INDIFFERENCE

According to Chester Barnard:

> The phrase "zone of indifference" may be explained as follows: If all the orders for actions may be reasonably arranged in the order of acceptablity to the person affect, it may be conceived that there are a number which are clearly unacceptable, that is, which certainly will not be obeyed; there is another group somewhat more or less on the neutral line, that is, either barely acceptable or barely unacceptable; and a third group unquestionably acceptable. This last group lies within the "zones of indifference." The person affected will accept orders lying within this zone

> and is relatively indifferent as to what the order is so far as the question of authority is concerned.[14]

The zone of indifference in College C is unusally wide.

College C is a small, elite institution passionately committed to the liberal arts. The students are all undergraduate. The faculty is scholarly and relatively well-published, but their research tends to be less intensive and more contemplative than that found at major research universities. For them, disciplinary boundaries are highly permeable. Specialization inevitably exists, but not to the point that breadth is a lost art.

The faculty value discursive scholarlship. When asked to describe an outstanding academic, they mention such traits as breadth, a capacity for transcending disciplinary confines, and a talent for finding connections among seemingly disparate topics. In addition to this imaginative insightfulness, outstanding academics must also be able to convey their findings. Good ideas are not uncommon, but clearly expressing those ideas without jargon and sophistic elaboration, and conveying the excitement of thinking, are talents that distinguish the outstanding academic from the rest. Violations of academic norms therefore include triviality, research that leads to the promotion of self rather than ideas, and lack of integrity (defined by one professor as devoting time to marginal contributions on insignificant problems). Such activities corrupt academic ideals.

When these comments are juxtaposed with responses about the

uninteresting work produced by leaders of a discipline, a clear message emerges; much of what passes for academic work today lacks any seriousness of purpose and its preoccupation with marginal advancements of narrow topics is antithetical to liberal arts. What is valued most is work that integrates perspectives, suggests new ways of looking at things, and draws from different disciplines. It demonstrates breadth. Although this would not be unwelcome in a research university, there is not much talk (as there would be a research university) of "contributions to the discipline" or of selecting a specific problem, developing a research agenda, focussing on it, and avoiding distractions.

There is a kind of religious zeal among the faculty. A political scientist expressed an important characteristic of the college when she said that its operations, especially regarding the lines of authority, are highly dependent upon the acceptance of unwritten codes. When the Dean of the College overrode an unanimous vote in the political science department to deny someone tenure, the department was saddled with a colleague who saw things differently than everyone else. There were clear divisions, and the consensus approach to settling issues had to be abandoned. As a result, when a new member of the department was hired, the description of the job was far more elaborate and specific than it had ever been for other new members. Also, the college developed a more formal tenure policy that for the first time included specific procedures, some attempt to delineate criteria, and the use of outside reviewers. As one professor said in reference to

academic freedom but in a statement that revealed something about the setting of the college in general, "Academic freedom, in practice, is protected in institutions of this kind only to the extent that there is a lot of unwritten norms or expectations by the people who work in them."

The frequency of the allusions to tacit codes was striking. The Dean mentioned that the power of his office in tenure decisions was the result of a department's unwillingness to "inhumane and unkind," so that the Dean is forced to play "executioner" (an arrangement the departments seem to prefer). But the power is nevertheless very tenuous and endures only if the Dean and the departments seem to share the same view of the world. The case in the political science department is the exception that proves the rule. Likewise, governance in general cannot be understood apart from this consensual acceptance of goals. In formal terms, the faculty possess most of the power and they exercise it through a surprisingly complex committee structure, which was introduced by a new president who, following the reign of a benevolent dictator, wanted to return authority to the faculty. In reality, the committee system has so fragmented power that the faculty is incapable of reaching a decision and the Dean and the President, by default, often end up making the decision or resorting to strong leadership. Despite this, the faculty do not seem on the verge of revolt. As one professor said in somewhat of an exaggeration, "Sure the faculty don't have any power here, but I don't care." When asked who runs the college, a political

scientist said, "You will get no complaints from me about tryannizing by the central administration; I wish they would tyrannize a little more." A biologist put it this way: "I would like to spend most of my time not governing the college and so personally I do not have a strong desire to do it....I think we have a reasonably competent administration and for the most part, I am happy to let them go ahead and do it with occasionally keeping an eye on them and harassing them when necessary."

The situation is somewhat like Mulkay and Williams' analysis of decisionmaking in a physics department. A strong chairman ruled the department and faculty willingly acquiesced in his decisions.[15] Since everyone agreed on the goals and objectives, the faculty were reasonably comfortable with the arrangement. On the larger organizational level, a similar situation applies to College C.

CONCLUSION

The consensus on values is only one factor affecting the centralization of decisionmaking. Uncertainty, the availability of resources, and broad changes in the socio-political environment undoubtedly intrude into the process of decisionmaking. But value consensus, perhaps because of the difficulty of measurement or perhaps simply because of the interest in other factors, has been relatively unexplored. It is hard to imagine that the level of symbolic integration in an organization does not affect the

decisionmaking process. This discussion specified that relationship. Holding other factors constant, we might expect the relationship to form a pattern somewhat like the one depicted in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1 HERE

But it is also the case that the centralization found in College A is of a different nature than that of College C. In the elite liberal arts college, faculty govern by passing their authority up the hierarchy in exchange for a high degree of autonomy in the performance of their task. The overwhelming consensus on objectives allows an implicit contract. As one professor said, "The faculty have a great deal of freedom, let's call it; not power but freedom." As long as that quid pro quo is maintained--power in exchange for freedom--faculty are content. There is an understanding of what is acceptable and unacceptable.

In College A, centralization arises for different reasons. Governance of the institution draws in a number of actors, including a statewide system, state political and administrative bodies, a faculty union and so forth. Negotiation among these actors is more formal, as well as more bureaucratic and political. The only way to reach a decision is through an explicit contract specifying the give and take on all sides. In the absence of value consensus, formal mechanisms arise. Centralization can occur for different reasons.

There are three implications for future research.

First, the pattern in Figure I can be used diagnostically for faculty development and institutional assessment. A college might be able to locate itself on the curve and to assess how its decisionmaking process is a function of faculty value consensus. But diagnosis is not a prescription. If this relationship between decisionmaking and value consensus has been correctly specified, it does not necessarily follow that colleges should construct a centralized system where value consensus is low. Far more information is necessary, especially a more measurable definition of value consensus.

Second, there is a need for more research on faculty culture, particularly a greater specification of faculty subcultures. We customarily use a two dimensional model of the profession. Academics are identified by institutional type and discipline--e.g., a biologist at a liberal arts college. Although these two dimensions unquestionably influence an individual's professional outlook, there are apparently other patterns of professional behavior that weave in and out of the disciplines and the institutions. It is a mark of the complexity of the scholarly world that consultants, entrepeneurs and other "cosmopolitans" engage in a form of research that seldom draws from or contributes to their disciplines. Similarly, it is a mark of the complexity of insitutional settings when teaching can be construed so broadly across the population of institutions. In other words, the potential for mixed professional attitudes and behaviors within a

single faculty or even a single department is great. But there is little guidance for coping with that diversity in a practical and equitable fashion.

Finally, future research should concentrate on the concept of "strategy of control." Mohr suggests that centralization and structure are deficient variables when it comes to building theory.[16] The proposition developed in this paper supports him.

Strategy of control, as I interpret and extend Mohr's proposal, accounts for the concerns of "hard" organization theory as well as the concern with "softer," more intangible characteristics such as culture. It is especially applicable in settings such as universities and colleges which blend the imperatives of the academic, whose constituency includes disciplinary peers, with the imperatives of the organization. It is this mix of organizational and professional cultures which must be accommodated in institutional decisionmaking. For example, although the "marblecake college" and the elite liberal arts college evidence centralized structures for decisionmaking, their strategies for directing faculty toward a broader mission--their strategies of control--are entirely different.

Future efforts would do well to identify, perhaps qualitatively at first, the manner in which organizational missions (and cultures) accommodate or conflict with professional missions (and cultures). The postsecondary population of institutions is increasingly differentiated. So, too, is the profession. But the subcultures of the profession do not

perfectly overlap with the cultures of the organization. Finding the strategies of reconciliation would be a welcome contribution.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Burton R. Clark, "The Organizational Saga in Higher Education," Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (1972): 178-183; I. Mitroff and R. H. Kilmann, "Stories Managers Tell: A New Tool for Organizational Problem-Solving." Management Review (1975): 18-28.; T. J. Sergiovanni and J. E. Corbally (eds). Leadership and Organizational Culture. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984; Alan L. Wilkins and William G. Ouchi, "Efficient Cultures: Exploring the Relationship Between Culture and Organizational Performance," Administrative Science Quarterly 28 (1983): 468-81; Kim S. Cameron, "Cultural Congruence, Strength, and Type: Relationships to Effectiveness." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, March 1985; and T. E. Deal and A. A. Kennedy. Corporate Cultures: The Rights and Rituals of Coporate Life. Reading, Ma: Addison-Welsey, 1982.

2. The UCLA Study of the Academic Profession sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged. The views in this paper are my own.

3. Carnegie Commission 1976.

4. Jay R. Galbraith. Organization Design Reading, Ma: Addison-Wesley, 1977.

5. M. Diver, "Decision Style and Organizational Behavior: Implications for Academia," Review of Higher Education 6 (Summer,1983): 387-406.

6. Galbraith, Organization Design.

7. Lawrence B. Mohr. Explaining Organizational Behavior. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982, p. 105.

8. M. D. Cohen, J. G. March, and J. P. Olsen, "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice," Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (1972): 1-25.

9. W. Taylor, "Organizational Culture and Administrative Leadership in Universities," in Sergiovanni and Corbally (eds.), Leadership and Organizational Culture, p. 126-127.

10. Eric Ashby in Daniel Alpert, "Performance and Paralysis: The Organizational Context of the American Research University," Journal of Higher Education, 56 (1985): 244.

11. Ibid., p. 244.

12. George B. Weathersby, "State Colleges in Transition," in Joseph Frookman (ed.) The Crisis in Higher Education. Proceedings, The Academy of Political Science, New York, 1983.

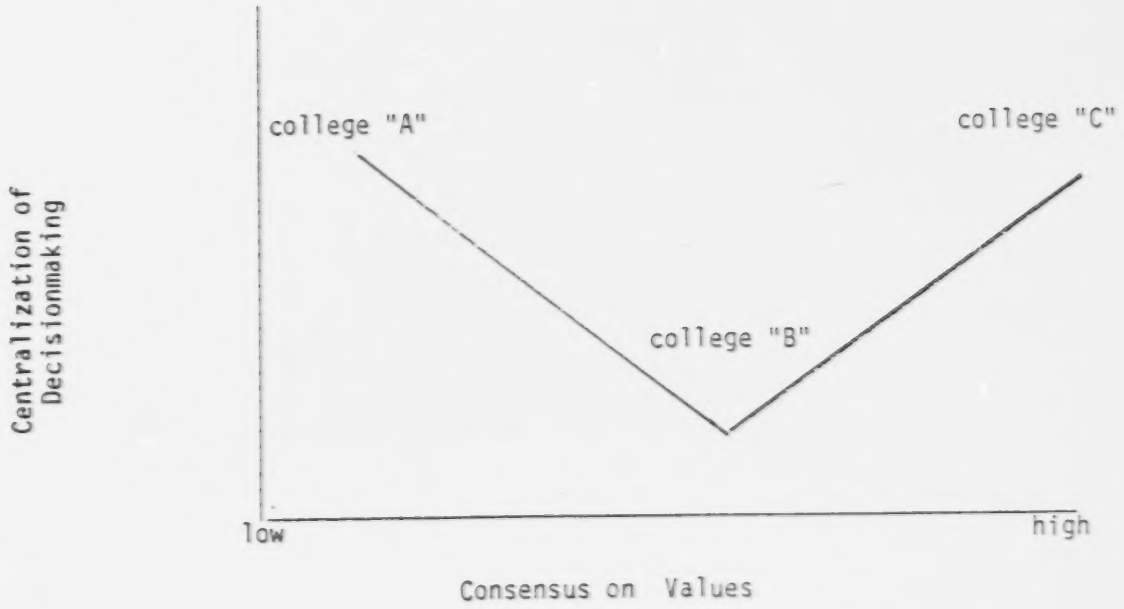
13. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1985 Faculty Survey, used with permission.

14. Chester Barnard. The Functions of the Executive. Cambridge, Ma: Harvard, 1938, 1976, p. 168-169.

15. M. J. Mulkay and A. Williams, "A Sociological Study of a Physics Department," British Journal of Sociology, 22 (1971): 68-82.

16. Mohr, Explaining Organizational Behavior.

Figure 1


college "A"
college "C"
college "B"
Centralization of Decisionmaking
low
high
Consensus on Values